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Cheng-chih Ch'ing-pao, No 1, Cheng-chih Ch'ing-pao She.

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FACTIONS WITHIN THE CCP, ACCORDING TO KMT SOURCES

At present, the Chinese Communist Party is divided vertically into the following factions: (1) the People's National Line Faction, represented by Chou En-lai, controls the administration; (2) the International Line Faction, represented by Li Li-san, controls the party; (3) the New Democracy Line Faction, represented by Mao Tse-tung, controls the army, workers, farmers, and mass organizations.

Horizontally, the CCP is divided into the following groups:

1. Mao Faction with Mao Tse-tung as its leader: Liu Shao-ch'i, chief of the Organization Department (pu) of the Politburo and concurrently head of the All-China Federation of Labor; Jen Pi-shih, Deputy Chief of the Organization Department of the Politburo; Li Fu-chun, Minister of Finance; K'ang Sheng, Lu-Ting-i; Ch'en Yun, and Kao Kang are other high-ranking members of this faction.

2. International Faction or the Mao Tzu Pang (毛子幫): Ch'en Shao-yu (alias Wang Ming), head of the Far East Cominform, was the leader of this faction, but recently Li Li-san (alias Li Ming-jan) the special representative of the Comintern, became the leader. Ch'ang Wen-t'ien (alias Lo Fu), Secretary-General of the Politburo, and Wang Chia-se (王稼穡), etc., are some of the high-ranking members in this group.

3. Elder Statesmen Faction: This group is also known as the People's National Faction. Chou En-lai is its leader; Lin Tsu-han, T'ung Pi-wu, Hsu T'ie-li, and Wu Yu-chang, are some of the high-ranking members.

4. Ch'uan (Szechwan) Pang (川 幫): Chu-te is the leader of this group. Szechwanese Communist military leaders, including Liu Po-ch'eng, Nieh Jung-chen, Ch'en Shih-ch'u (陳士渠), Teng Hsiao-p'ing (鄧小平), etc., belong to this group. Recently, they have joined with the Mao Faction in opposing the Internationalist Faction which has as its followers Lin P'iao, Ch'en'i, Su Yu, Ch'ang Ting-ch'eng, T'an Chen-lin, Kuan Wen-yu, etc.

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5. Special Faction (特務派): K'ang Sheng is the leader of this group; other notables in it include Wu Te-feng and Li K'o-nung. In reality, one portion of this group is under the Mao Faction while the other adheres to the Internationalist Faction.

Because of this split loyalty among group members -- such as those who support the Mao Faction on the one hand and the Elder Statesmen Faction on the other, like Lin Tsu-han; or those who support the Mao Faction and the Internationalist Faction at the same time, like Lu Ting-i, Jen Pi-shih, etc. -- there are many who report that the CCP is divided as follows:

1. The Mao Faction is naturally the all-powerful authority of the CCP. A small organization (known as New Democratic Comrade Association) was organized within the party to support the Hunan clique within the Mao Faction. This clique is made up of such men as T'an Cheng, Chief of the Political Department of the Twelfth Red Army; P'eng Te-huai, Commander of the Northwest People's Liberation Army; Ho Lung, member of the United Defense Headquarters, Northwest Military District; T'eng Tai-yuan, deputy commander of the North China Military District and at present, Minister of Communications; Ch'en Keng, Commander of the Shensi-Shansi-Honan Border District; Wu Yu-chang and Hsieh Chueh-tsai; Liu Shao-chi and Hsia Hsi, leaders of the semiproletariat class and who are connected with the Ministry of Organization; and many others. These men were formerly members of the Kuomintang. Under the KMT government, they were the so-called left-wing KMT and now under the CCP, they may be called the right-wing CCP. Thus, from the standpoint of the internationalists, they are the Nationalist Communists or Mao's New Democratic personages. They may also be called the "Reorganization Faction" of the CCP representing the rich farmer ideologists and semicolonialism.

2. The CCP Faction No 2 is headed by Chou En-lai, one of the principal members of the Politburo and formerly chief representative of the CCP. Chou is a former instructor at Whampoo and served as chief of the Political Section of the Tung-cheng (東征) Headquarters. He has great ability. He was responsible for winning over the support of the left-wing students at Whampoo. He is a close friend of Hsiang Chung-fa and Li Li-san. Important Communist supporters of Chou include Lin P'iao, Commander of the Northeast and the North China General Headquarters; Ch'en I, Commander of the North China Liberation Army Headquarters and a classmate of Chou at a Peiping school; Yeh Chien-ying, a native of Mei Hsien, Kwangtung; Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, Commander of the Shansi-Hopeh-Honan-Shantung First Army Group; Ch'en Keng, Commander of the Shensi-Shansi-Honan Border Region; and Nieh Jung-chen, Commander of the North China Border Region.

In addition to these men, other important Communist personalities who are close to Chou include Ch'en Shao-yu and Ch'ang Wen-t'ien, leaders of the group who studied in the USSR and Lin Tsu-han, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, etc., former KMT members. Jao Sou-shih's Kwangtung Faction is also loyal to Chou. Jao is a former writer from Canton who has attained a high position. It might be added that Chou En-lai's relationships with the old students at Whampoo and with those who studied in France remain very close. The leaders of both the Mao and the Internationalist factions are now seeking to win over the support of the opportunists, middle-of-the-road members, and small-propertied class within the party to strengthen their positions. Because of this, they are being criticized frequently from all sides.

3. The Remnant Feudalistic Faction (封建殘餘派) still maintains considerable latent influence within the CCP and the Communist forces. This kind of influence is the outgrowth of unification of self-interest of the rural elements which have joined forces with the Szechwan Faction to oppose the Hunan Faction. This faction looks to Chu Te, Commander of the People's Liberation Army, as its leader. Chu Te, who is now 63 years old, is a native of Szechwan. Chu is now troubled with a lung disease. Other leaders of this faction include

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Ch'en I, age 50, native of P'eng-an Hsien, Szechwan; Liu Po-ch'eng, age 61, native of K'ai Hsien, Szechwan; (he was reported killed in the Hsuehchow operation); Nieh Jung-chen, age 50, native of Chungking, Szechwan; and Meng Chang-fei. Politically, this faction is always facing trouble. However, it is the actual strength of the CCP and the Communist forces.

4. The Internationalist Faction is also called the Russian Faction: In speaking of the Internationalist Line, no one forgets the originator of the "Li Li-san line" of some years ago. Li Li-san, with his associates, took the lead in opposing the opportunistic policies of Chen Tu-hsiu and T'an P'ing-shan. Li Li-san speaks in a broad Ch'ang-sha dialect. After committing the political error of the "Li Li-san line," he was packed off to Moscow by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai to eat black bread for 16 or 17 years. Only recently has he been permitted to emerge into political life as the representative of the Comintern, commissioned to keep watch secretly over Mao Tse-tung's actions and regularize his thoughts. It was hoped that in the end the leftist "Li Li-san line" would overcome Mao Tse-tung's rightist inclinations.

Li Li-san and Chen Shao-yu, who also took the Russian name of Kao-lu-peifu (高魯卑夫), head of the Far East Cominform; the Chinese Stalin, Ch'ang Wen-t'ien, Russian name, Wei-ch'ien-ssu-chi, (唯錢斯基); Ch'in Pang-hsien (秦邦憲) who a few years ago lost his life in an airplane accident; and a large number of men who studied in the USSR and graduated from the Sun Yat-sen University, the Li Ta-chao (李大釗) Political and Military College; the Oriental University, Lenin College, Red Army Infantry College, the Artillery College and the Army College, were influenced in favor of the "Internationalist line." They considered themselves to be true Bolsheviks; they were on the inside with those who pulled the strings. They believed that only they were the able executives of international Sovietism. They understood the historical concept of dialectical materialism -- only they could understand the original editions of Marx's and Engel's books and were able to be the guides in the highest theoretical thoughts and policies.

Sometimes Mao Tse-tung brings out his doctrine of "ideological reformation" to deal with these "idolizers of hairy foreigners." But they regard old Mao's faction as unworthy to be Bolsheviks, as nothing but rustics, little mud gods, mere well-to-do farmers.

They regard Chou En-lai and his clique as of the petty bourgeoisie, of the middle line, conciliators and opportunists, of the scholar class, but still dangerous men.

They regard Chu Te's clique and Liu Po-cheng's tribe as resembling Han Hsien and Fan Ku'ai /two warriors of the Han dynasty who rose to great power/; they are the new militarists in the Red Army. They are the Trotskyites, the feudalistic remnant elements in the People's Liberation Army. They share Mao Tse-tung's confidence with Liu Shao-ch'i, a semiproletarian representative in the Hunan clique who is in charge of party organizational work.

K'ang Sheng, who is Minister of Social Affairs, and from an old Shantung rural family, was educated in a Shanghai university. K'ang Sheng and Chen Shao-yu are deadly opponents who fight each other openly and secretly; they are bed-fellows having different dreams, a pair of ministers of state working together but pulling in different directions.

Lin P'iao and Liu Po-ch'eng are quite far apart. P'eng Te-huai, Ho Lung, and Nieh Jung-chen keep close watch over each other.

To sum up, the existence of a Mao Tse-tung clique, a Chou En-lai clique, a Li Li-san clique, and a Chu Te clique is evidence of internal struggle in the Central Committee of the Party, and this raises a number of important questions concerning the outcome of: (1) the struggle for the place of highest leadership

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and authority; (2) the struggle of the political leadership to dominate the military, and vice versa; (3) the struggle between the right and left wings, and between the old and the new cadres; (4) the struggle to establish a coalition political authority that will unite all factions of the Party and constitute a CCP one-party government; (5) the conflict between those who advocate a speedy southern advance, and those who counsel a slow advance; and (6) the struggle to carry out a purge of the Party and an ideological reformation.

It is possible for the Chou En-lai clique to join forces with either the Mao clique or the Szechwan clique to dominate the Internationalist Faction. Therefore, the facts indicate to us that Mao Tse-tung has already lost his power to dominate the CCP, and will gradually be dominated by the Internationalist Faction and the old-line military men.

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